Vnion, or Vndone:

Being a Perſuaſive

LETTER

To Unity in the

CHURCH of ENGLAND;

Upon this Ground chiefly, leaſt by our

TOLERATION

Of DIVISIONS, we bring in the Church of *ROME.*

Quiſquis rebus conſiliiſq́, interes, conſidera; & quantum humano ingenio poteſt, prævide quo ſe inclinem fata; & tu ad illa.
Lipſius Cap. 4. Not. ad 1 Lib. Polit.

LONDON,
Printed for *Will. Cademan* at the *Popes-Head* in the Lower walk in the *New-Exchange* in the Strand, 1668.

Sexageſimus Octavus Mirabilis Annus.

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Vnion, or Vndone:

Being a Perſuaſive Letter to Unity in the Church of *England*, leaſt by our *Toleration* of Diviſions, we bring in the Church of *Rome*.

SIR,

IN Reply to Yours of the Sixth inſtant, wherein you deſire to know what New Books of *Toleration* the Confidence of ſome had prepared againſt this Seſſion of Parliament; and alſo my Judgment of the Times and them. I anſwer, as to the Times, they would be good, if Men were ſo; for it

is the Bad Men that make the Bad Times; the ill Humors within us, occaſion thoſe ill Humors without; and that unquiet, unſettled, cholerick Humor of the Body Natural, if not purg'd this Spring by the execution of wholſom medicinable Laws, will, I fear, before the Fall, produce a greater diſtemper and unſettledneſs in the Body Politick. And therefore, methinks, the Orator might have chang'd his pathetical Exclamation of *O Tempora, O Mores!* into *O Mores, O Tempora!* for certainly in our Nation the Times have conſtantly followed the Manners of the People and not the Manners the Times. Thus in the Year 1640. and after, when the Peoples Manners and Humour was againſt the Eſtabliſhed Government, the Times were ſo too: but in the Year 1660. when that bloudy humor had run through all its Circle of Twelve ſeveral changes of Government, and found by ſad experience that none was like the firſt, and therefore were for the reeſtabliſhing of that, we have ſeen that immediately (as it were by Inſpiration) the Times were ſo too. And now, Worthy Sir, it is a piece of a wonder to me, how this humor (having, one would have thought, been ſufficiently cleanſed, by purging of the purſe and bleeding of the body) ſhould ſtill itch after more changes and confuſions. Eſpecially if the men of this humor would be pleaſed to conſider and reflect upon theſe Three particulars: Firſt, their Native King and Country. Secondly, themſelves. Thirdly, their enemies both at home and abroad.

Firſt, If they would reflect upon their Native King and Countrey, whom God hath a mind to bleſs, if we obſtruct not thoſe Bleſſings by our ſins and diviſions. It hath pleaſed God by a wonderful Providence to deliver the King out of the hands of his Enemies, and to ſettle his Birth-

Birth-right Crown upon his head; and ſhall we by our Diviſions betray our King into thoſe hands, out of which he was delivered, and fill his Crown with thorns, which God intends to encircle with bleſſings? making his life bitter unto him, who ſtudies all ways and means to ſweeten ours unto us. This certainly ought not to be done; if we either ſeriouſly looked upon his own goodneſs, or ſadly reflected upon his martyr'd Father. Again, it hath pleaſed the ſame God by the ſame Providence, to deliver our dear Country from a twenty-years War, and confuſion, and alſo from ſeveral eminent Judgments; and ſhall we by our ſins and Diviſions reduce this Land of our Nativity a ſecond time into the ſame *Chaos*, and again pull down thoſe Judgments upon us? We have had Miracles of Judgment, and Miracles of Mercy likewiſe, (though we are too apt to believe neither.) Miracles of Judgment in that ſucceſſive triennial Viſitation; the First Year by the Plague; the Second by the Fire; the Third by the Invaſion of the *Dutch*: and Miracles of Mercy in the Miraculous bringing back of the King, and ſtopping of thoſe three unparallel'd Judgments. And can hard-hearted men ſo ſoon forget both thoſe Mercies, and thoſe Judgments alſo, as by their unnatural Diviſions to obſtruct the one, and draw down the other upon their Natural Countrey? Certainly, if they had any Chriſtian or but Moral Charity, any regret of Conſcience, any tincture of Humanity, they would lay aſide all obſtinate Opinions, and peeviſh freaks of the brain, rather then be guilty of that bloud which may be ſhed to gratifie thoſe Opinions and Humors; and this both in Conſcience and Prudence they ought to do for the general good and peace of the Nation. In the name of God then let us lay aſide our private fan-

cies, and willingly ſubmit to the Publick eſtabliſhed Laws, that ſo we may have an eſtabliſhed Peace; and not ſtill ſtrive for Maſteries under a pretence of Conſcience and Religion; which I fear they have done ever ſince the Reformation. Upon this account of an eſtabliſhed Peace, it is very fit both in Religion and Prudence, that all Proteſtants in this Nation ſhould agree in the Religion eſtabliſhed by the Laws of the Nation, and not every one after his own fancy to divide himſelf from and againſt thoſe Laws; and that upon theſe grounds. Firſt, becauſe there is no more reaſon that the Anabaptiſt or Quaker ſhould be of the Presbyterian Judgment, than the Presbyterian of the Anabaptiſt or Quakers Judgment; but that all three ſhould ſubſcribe to the Judgment of the Laws, becauſe all three are the ſubjects of thoſe Laws, and therefore ought to ſubmit to, and be directed by them. Secondly, If we are content to ſubmit to a Parliament, in reſpect of our ſeparation from the Church of *Rome*, and our Religion eſtabliſhed upon that Separation; why then not in other matters of leſs moment, as in things (were they not lawfully commanded) merely indifferent, relating to the worſhip of God? Let us therefore no longer ſtand off, but willingly unite our ſelves by a chearful ſubmiſſion unto their Acts; they being the Supreme Council of the Nation, choſen by our ſelves, and of the ſame Religion with us; and therefore both in Reaſon and Prudence we ought to ſubmit unto their Acts, and eſteem their grave Determinations far better for us, than any of our own private totty pate Opinions and fancies. In brief then, there is no better way to make this Nation happy by a ſettled Peace, than in the firſt place to repent of all the innocent Bloud that hath been ſhed in this Nation, from the Bloud of the

King,

King, to the Bloud of the meaneſt Apprentice that ſuffered in *Cheapſide*, (even that Apprentice who by his dying diſmal looks frighted the Spectators into compaſſion and remorſe.) And next, to prevent a ſecond Rebellion, by an unfeigned Submiſſion and Obedience to the Government eſtabliſhed both in Church and State; and not to preſcribe unto the Great Council of this Nation our own Humors and Diſcontents to make Laws by: but to let Them, and His Sacred Majeſty alone unto Themſelves, without preſſing or byaſſing of them any ways.

In the next place, I would have theſe Men reflect upon themſelves, and their carriage in the late Rebellion, and what they got by it. It is no new thing for men to be made the inſtruments of a deſign, and yet to know nothing of it; to be the great engines of ſuch affairs, which had they ſeen through, they would have died rather than have any thing to do with. Such was, and ſuch is the condition of theſe Men; they were made (and are ſo ſtill) the Stalking-horſes for other Men to ſhoot at the game, the ſtirrup for others to get into the Saddle. Have they ſo ſoon forgot, how ſmoothly and cleverly, without any Tumult and Noiſe (as if they had been all aſleep) their *Claſſical* power was taken away by the Independents, and will it not be ſo again? Yes, moſt certainly. As they have been already, ſo they will the ſecond time be confounded in their devices, take what courſe they pleaſe. For many crying ſins lye at their doors; and thoſe ſins call upon God for vengeance, and that vengeance will croſſe and confound all their deſigns; and then they'l appear far more odious than ever, in that they have endeavoured the ſecond time to ſhew themſelves the Authors of our Confuſions; which makes me wonder how all

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the ſad effects of the late War can be ſo ſoon forgotten by theſe Men, and they ſo prone to run into them a ſecond time. Certainly God hath ſome more fearful judgments for this Nation, then have already befallen it, or elſe theſe Men could not poſſibly be ſo ſottiſh, and ſenſeleſs of what is paſt; *Sed quos perdere vult Jupiter, dementat prius.* For if they would but ſeriouſly reflect upon themſelves, they would never endeavour another alteration and diſturbance in the eſtabliſhed government. I ſay, if they did but ſeriouſly reflect upon themſelves, who got nothing by the laſt change, but ſhame, and reproach, and a genera odium; being wholly fruſtrated of that Church-government they ſo long aim'd at, and with all look'd upon to this day, and ever will be, ſo long as there is any *Engliſh* Chronicle extant, as the cheif Boutifues and Incendiaries of the Nation. For which reaſon they are alſo eſteem'd to be very imprudent and unpolitick men, that can neither foreſee what is to come, nor infer from what is paſt; or elſe certainly they would have concluded their Famous *Propoſition* in ſuch a Mood and Figure, as ſhould not have excluded the other Sectaries from the ſame Benefit of the Nation with themſelves. Eſpecially conſidering, That thoſe very Sectaries who wiped their noſes of the Government, when they thought themſelves cock-ſure of it, may do it the ſecond time; and far better now than then: becauſe then thoſe Sectaries were a Party ſcarſe diſcernable in the Nation, but now too too Viſible and Numerous. Again, thoſe other were then look'd upon as the Conſcientious Godly Party; but now ſince the Sequeſtrations, and Impriſonments, and Murders of ſo many thouſand of their Brethren, they are found to be men of a quite different Pulſe and Temper.

In

In the third place, if these men would but duely consider their most subtle enemies (I mean those of *Rome*) this seasonable consideration might undoubtedly prove a most powerful inducement to Unity. Consider them, I say, as the greatest Politicians in the whole world, as those State-head-pieces, which at this day carry on the Juncture and Disjuncture of all Affairs, and have the Conduct, Mannage, and Direction of the Transactions of Christendome. And therefore it is no wonder, if they have the Master-reach of poor plain-dealing Protestants; who have been nuzled up and battend for an hundred years together in a continued peace and plenty; and upon that accompt had no need to trouble their Pericraniums with any *Machivellian* projects, any Mazes and Meanders of State, any Intrigues and Mysteries of Policy. This consideration perchance might move the Author of the Defence of the Proposition; to tell us in plain terms (page 63.) that he is afraid at the very heart of prevailing Popery; and if those of his Judgment be so likewise, O that prevailing Popery might prevail with them to unite as Protestants; and this because of *Veniens Romani*, the *Romans* will come, *&c.* Saint *Jo.* 11. 48. There is no way under Heaven to stop the coming in, and prevailing of these *Romans*, but the Union of *Britains*. For else that which was once, will still be our sad Fate, *Dum singuli pugnamus Universi vincimur*, we shall be generally overcome by our peculiar divisions; which the more inveterate they grow, and the deeper they are rooted in this Nation, the surer will be its ruine. For then it is probable we shall never be reconciled, but desperately undo one another, till at length these *Romans* will prevail over and undo all; and then it will be to late for these Propositi-

on-men to whine and blubber (as they did at the Murther of our dear King) and cry, Ah! if we had known that this bitter fruit would have ſprung from our diviſions, we would have both Conform'd and Reform'd alſo; Conform'd to the Church, and Reform'd from the Covenant; we would have prevented his Majeſties gracious Speech, and have found out within our ſelves a courſe of Union and Compoſure in matters of Religion; namely, our cheerful ſubmiſſion unto the Laws already made, and hearty thanks for thoſe Laws, without troubling the great Council of the Nation to compoſe any new, unleſs it were this one, only for a ſpeedy and vigorous execution of the old. And as I would have theſe men look upon the *Romaniſts*, as the great State-engines of Chriſtendome, ſo in particular, as the moſt ſubtle Authors and Contrivers of that refin'd Chymical Quinteſſential Maxime of late policy, which is to undo men in their own way, and ruin them by their own deſigns; and this not by croſſing, but ſeconding and furthering thoſe deſigns. As for inſtance, were there not a ſort of Predicants in this Nation, who held the people in hand they were the only deſerving Churchmen among us, becauſe ſomewhat more forward then the reſt of their Brethren in a popular way of Preaching; when behold on the ſuddain there ſtarts up a company of Mechanick cloaks, ſcarce free of the City, who yet made themſelves free of the Pulpit, and did outdo thoſe other Predicants even in their own way, both of Praying and Preaching; that ſo the common people might ſee how ſlight and eaſie, and contemptible a thing it was to be a Preacher, as Preachers were in thoſe days; and that their Godamighties of the Pulpit, which for theſe late years, they have ſo much adored, were of no higher Gifts, nor of a more Divine Miſſion

then

then what might proceed from a Thimble, a Shuttle, or a Laſt. And this the Jeſuit knew full well, and accordingly did make this uſe of it at that day in this Nation; by bringing a contempt upon their praying and preaching trade, by thoſe that did out-pray and out-preach them even from the ſhop and ſtall. But to leave this, and come to higher inſtances; have we not ſeen our ſelves overreached by the Jeſuit, and undone in our own way which way ſoever we took. Be it that of Arch-biſhop *Laud*, which was to endeavor an unity in our Church, by bringing all people to one and the ſame way of God's worſhip and ſervice, by a vigorous execution of the diſcipline and cenſures of the Church upon offenders; yet the Jeſuit had his factors among us, to ruin us in this way, and to cry out upon it, both as ſuperſtitious and tyrannical, telling the credulous abuſed people in their Printed books, (who were too apt to believe them, even againſt their martyr'd Kings both living and dying Proteſtations) that we were coming over to them, and that there was but little difference between us. And this was done by the Jeſuits real Proſelites, but ſeeming Proteſtants. For certainly thoſe very men that in our diviſions did cry down their brethren for being Papiſts, were the very beſt friends the Papiſts had; and their brethren that were ſo cried down, were thoſe very men that would have ſuffered at the ſtake for the Proteſtant Religion: And truly, I believe that God hath a controverſie with the Nation at this day for thoſe ſo highly uncharitable aſperſions of our brethren.

Again, let us go the other way of Toleration, Indulgence, and Connivence at Sectaries, which our Propoſition-men think the beſt, yet of neceſſity we muſt be ov e-

reach'd and undone that way alſo. Becauſe it is generally believed, that the Heads and Ringleaders at this day of all the Sectaries in *England* are ſworn Emiſſaries from the Church of *Rome*, who by ſuch a Toleration will firſt pull down our Church into confuſion, and then ſet up their own. To raiſe this Inſtance one ſtep higher; have not theſe our moſt politick Enemies over-reach'd us in our great Councils alſo? have they not ſo laid the Plot, and contrived the Deſign, that as we at firſt ſeparated from them by a Parliament: we ſhould alſo by a Parliament ſeparate from our ſelves, and be ruin'd the ſame way as we were reform'd: and this ruine to be wrought when our Church was at the Zenith of all her glory and ſplendor, ſupported and protected by as Religious a King, ſurrounded by as faithful a Nobility and Gentry, defended by as learned a Clergy, as ever were in this Nation ſince it was Chriſtian; and yet that this glorious ſplendor ſhould be Eclipſed at noonday, that all theſe Supporters and Butteresſes, and Pillars of the Church ſhould be taken away, and this rare Fabrick laid level with the ground, and all this by that hand which at firſt did raiſe and build it up; and yet that this hand ſhould not know what it did, ſhould not underſtand its own handiwork, but be carried on by a ſecret inviſible ſpring, not knowing whether it was carried, nor diſcerning its own motion.

For as that great Council of *Trent* had a form and concluſion altogether contrary to the deſires and expectations of them that procured it; ſo the great Council of this Nation (our late long Parliament) had ſuch a reſult and

and Cataſtrophe, as did no way anſwer the Faſts and Prayers, the Humiliations and Thankſ-givings of its Plot ers and Contrivers. Such a reſult (I ſay) as hath ſtruck a Palſie through Mr. *Pims* aſhes, and made his cold Marble ſweat, and hath put all thoſe ſeveral Parties and Actors that have as yet appear'd upon our Tragical Bloody Stage to an amazed ſtand and gaze; Confeſſing themſelves (but too late) to be thoſe improvident Axes and Hammers in the hand of a ſubtle workman, whereby he was enabled to ſquare out, and beat down our Church and State into a conformity with his own. By which it hath appear'd, that the Great Work and the Holy Cauſe, and the Naked Arme (ſo much talk'd of for twenty years together) were but the Work, and the Cauſe, and the Arme of that hand which hath all this while reach'd us over the *Alpes*; dividing and compoſing, winding us up, and letting us down, until our very diſcords have ſet and tuned us to ſuch Notes, as may ſooneſt conduce to that moſt neceſſary Catholick Union and Harmony, which is an eſſential part of Chriſts Church here upon earth, and the very Church it ſelf in heaven.

And now, Sir, as I have given you my judgement of the men, and their manners; ſo you expect that I ſhould of their books likewiſe, lately printed in behalf of Toleration. Firſt then, I do not wonder (as you do) that ſuch books are now Printed, but I wonder that they were not Printed ſooner, and that no more are Printed. I wonder that every particular Conventicle about *London* had not one of its Members to write for Toleration: which

if

if they had done, the fault had not been ſo much in them, as in ſome of our Conformiſts themſelves; who wink'd at them to do what they did. Our Connivence was the ground of their *Propoſition*, and our Indulgence th. *Defence* of it. And therefore it is on marvail, that they writ for Liberty of Conſcience, when the exerciſe of it was not forbid, and pleaded for a Toleration, when the practiſe of it was not diſallowed. You may remember I told you in the beginning, that the times followed the manners and humors of the men, and not the manners the times. If the humor of ſome be for a remiſs looſe rain in Church-diſcipline, the times will be ſo too; and Sectaries were not Sectaries, if they would not follow it. Of this I was an eye-witneſs, that the Conventicles were built ſome months before any books for thoſe Conventicles were Printed; the doctrine of Toleration was preach'd in thoſe houſes, before it was publiſh'd in the ſtreets, and the Hummers cryed it up in the skirts of the City, before the Hawkers cried it out at the *Exchange*. In very truth, Sir, the ſpiritual rains lay looſe upon the Creſt of a ſtiff-neck'd, head-ſtrong Courſer; and when the Beaſt felt no hand, concluded it had no manager; and then immediately got the Bit out of the mouth, and begun to run away with his Rider; reſolving (if not ſpeedily ſtop'd) either quite to throw him out of the Saddle, or very ſhrewdly to ſhake his bones.

Now Sir, for the Books themſelves; their deſign is for a new model in the Church, yea, and in the State alſo; they would have a Regulation in Civil, as well as Eccleſiaſtical Affairs; and reach your Coppyholds, as well as ours. And really, ſo far as I can perceive by their wild looks, it is not better Models that theſe men ſtand in need of, but better heads, which being very looſe and unſetled, it is very requiſite they ſhould be cloſed and bound up by good

good careful Nurſes in the wholeſome execution of the Laws of the Land, and Diſcipline of the Church; or elſe we ſhall quickly become a Tottypaſs Crackbrain'd People, In the interim, it is certainly the part of every good Chriſtian, to live quietly under the government eſtabliſhed; and not by factious books and practices, to bring us again into the ſame horrid confuſion, out of which God's wonderful providence hath ſo lately deliver'd us. Union, Union therefore, or we are all undone: And this is no leſs true than that Scripture, *A Kingdome divided againſt its ſelf cannot ſtand*; unleſs the God of that Scripture be pleaſed to ſupport it by miracle. If then any thing under a miracle doth preſerve this Nation, and the Church of it from ruin, it muſt be the union of the Proteſtants in this Nation. And truly we are ſo miſerably divided, as Proteſtants, that even our very Union will be miraculous. Let therefore men propoſe what they pleaſe in their books, they ſhall find that union will prove the moſt rational *concluſion* of their *Propoſition*: As the Author himſelf of that *Propoſition* doth ſeem to acknowledge in his ſecond diſcourſe of Toleration, pag. 6. *Things neceſſary as the end* (and that's the concluſion) *are the advancement of Proteſtant Religion, and the Kingdome of* England, *the tranquillity of Church and State, and the ſecurity of all good Subjects, and ſound Proteſtants.* And can there any better means be imagined for the compaſſing of this end (this advancement, tranquillity, and ſecurity) then the Union of Proteſtants. Again, he tells us in the 42. page of that Pamphlet, *That it behoves both the Comprehended and Tolerated to prefer the common intereſt of Religion, and the ſetling of the Nation before their own particular perſwaſions.* And is there any other way to prefer this common Intereſt, beſides a common Union? I ſhall conclude all with that clauſe in the 29th. page of the Author of Indulgence and Toleration conſidered; who gives you the concluſion of the *Propoſition* in theſe words; *That all that is here deſired is no more than what is plainly exerciſed in the Kingdome of* France. And truly, if we continue our diviſions, God in his juſt judgment, for the ſins of the Nation, may let us have the ſame Toleration here, as they have in *France*; which ſaith this Author, *Is the ſum of all that is here deſired.* And really I believe ſo too, and am of his opinion, that this is the very thing deſir'd, and deſign'd alſo by the enemies of our Church. I pray God

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it may not be by the ſame means as that was in *France*, by rebellion at the beginning, and confuſion in the end; and by thoſe and only thoſe means to bring in the Church of *Rome*; and then you ſhall ſee that the ringleaders of all the Sectaries in *England* will appear what indeed they now are, and rant it out in that of *Lucan*.

Quod ſi non aliam venturo fata Clementi,
Invenere viam.-----
Jam nihil, O ſuperi, querimur, ſcelera ipſa nefaſque
Hac mercede placent. ----

For as the *Propoſition-man* ſaid before, that he was afraid at his very heart of prevailing Popery; ſo ſay I now, I am afraid at the very heart of prevailing Sectarism. And this not for my own ſake (I write it in the preſence of God) but for the Churches, and my Countries ſake: For there is ſome thing unuſual upon my ſpirit now at this very minute while I write, and a certain trembling poſſeſſeth my hand and my heart likewiſe, leſt theſe mens continued diviſions, may bring this miſerable Nation to the ſame ſad fate as *France* was in the time of *Henry* the IV. when (ſaith the Biſhop of *Rodez*, who writ the Hiſtory of *Henry* the great, and was once Tutor to this *Lewis* that would be ſo) *All Polititians both of the one and the other Religion* (obſerve that) *told that King, that of all Canons the Canon of the Maſſe would prove beſt to reduce the Cities of his kingdome, and beſought him to ſerve himſelf of it.* (I ſay again, obſerve how the the very *French* Presbyterians themſelves deſir'd it of the King, rather than the whole Nation ſhould be ruined.) *And to their prayers* (ſaith my Author pag. 165.) *they added threats to abandon him, and to retire themſelves; being wearied with conſuming themſelves, in his ſervice for the Capricio of ſome obſtinate preaching Miniſters.* Now, I wiſh from my heart, that all thoſe of their judgment in *England*, would moſt cordially, moſt feelingly think upon this paſſage of my Letter, whatever became of the reſt. Which that they may do ſhall be the prayer of,

SIR,

Feb. 13. *Your moſt obliged Servant*

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